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the addition to its man power. These alliances were aided by the common language of the natives and immigrants and by the great number of cultural features which they always had in common. Lastly, the region was never densely inhabited and the rapid, if temporary, exhaustion of the soil through the native methods of agriculture prevented the population from becoming too firmly fixed in one place.

The Tanala always have been, and still are, a more or less accidental agglomeration of groups of diverse origin who have entered the territory at different times. Although all of them have numerous cultural features in common and speak mutually intelligible dialects, they cannot be said to resemble each other more closely than the various units, individually, resemble certain of the units in neighboring tribes. In spite of this, the term Tanala seems to have more than a geographical significance for the natives themselves. They have a rather shadowy sense of unity, which is strongest in the case of gentes living close together. This is reflected in the different attitudes toward Tanala and foreign slaves and in the clear distinction between gentes which are Tanala and those which are not. Any informant can instantly place any gens which he has heard of as being inside or outside the tribe. Moreover, within the tribe there are certain large divisions, not necessarily political units, which are universally recognized. Apparently membership in the tribe is based mainly on length of residence in the territory. Any group which has lived in the region more than three or four generations is counted Tanala.

The Tanala themselves recognize two main divisions of the tribe, the Tanala Menabe, who occupy the northern part of the territory, and the Tanala Ikongo, who occupy the southern part. The Ikongo take their name from Mount Ikongo, about 8 kilometers from Fort Carnot. Sadaro Antoine says:

"Mount Ikongo was the refuge of all the inhabitants of the [southern] forest region in time of war. The top was level and could only be reached by one path, narrow and difficult. It was cultivated, providing food during sieges. This mountain was never conquered by the Imerina. The top was divided in to two parts, Ananjamanga on the northeast and Tsiajospango on the south. On the southwest corner of Ananjamanga, called Mitioka, there was a small, rocky hill where the ancient inhabitants sacrificed an ox to their ancestors for protection and victory before going to battle. This hill was shaped like a cattle tick, *kongo*, and gave the name Ikongo to the mountain."

619 101 There seems to have been little or no feeling of unity between these main divisions and I could not learn that they ever assisted each other in war. During the Imerina campaigns against the Ikongo, the Menabe, who had already submitted, remained quiet. Moreover, there were and still are certain cultural differences between the two. The Ikongo were better organised politically, with kings and a caste system like that of the southeast coast tribes. In their material culture they resembled the southeast coast in some respects and the Bara in others. The Menabe had no kings or castes until recent times. The division included one *gens* of pure plateau culture while the rest resembled the Betsimisaraka in many particulars.

DIVISIONS OF THE IKONGO

(From manuscript of Andrew Antoine)

114 [That part of the manuscript dealing with the royal *gentes* and castes has been given in the *chapter* on Social Organization. Although the account contains much extraneous matter, it has seemed best to quote it in full because of the picture it gives of the constant state of flux in the population and the diverse origin of the various groups.]

619 618 The Government of Ankarimbelo is divided into two Governments Madinika: 1. Ankarimbelo, with the tribes [royalized *gentes*] Manambondro, Vohitroay, Vohimanu-fahafina and Marohala. 2. Ambatofinaka, with the tribes Zanamava and Tanalandravy. The whole group is known as Tanala or forest dwellers. All these tribes were independent, with their own chiefs, and were almost constantly at war with each other. Each tribe stayed in its own territory and knew nothing beyond it. [Here follows an account of the various castes and of the origin of the Zafirambo, the royal stock, which has been quoted in the *chapter* on Social Organization.]

MANAMBONDRO TRIBE.—Before the arrival of the Zafirambo in the Manambondro region it was inhabited by various *gentes* of different origin: the Sahavana, Antandroka, Ante-Varandrano and Ante-Maromony.

173 618 The Sahavana had been established in the region for about three hundred years when the Zafirambo arrived. According to traditions they were the aborigines of the region. From the time of Rakunjavo, their ancestor, until that of Rafolo, in the fourth generation after him, they stayed on Mount Sahavana, from which they took their name. Rafolo's son, Ravanambe, married Volavano and had two

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children, Vatomirehitra and a pretty daughter, Renivolondambo, who lived with their grandfather until a thunderstorm struck the village, doing great damage. After that Rafolo left his village, taking with him some water from the Manambondro River. He traveled south and finally settled beside a great river whose name he did not know. He threw the water he had brought into this river and from that time on it was called Manambondro. His descendants form the present gentes of Rabehavana and Rafolo in the Government of Amparihy. Ravanambe, son of Rafolo, remained at Sahavana with his two children, Vatomirehitra and Renivolondambo. When Andriampofinena arrived at Ambalavato he was unmarried and sent to Sahavana for Renivolondambo. Their descendants form the present Zaframbo caste. Vatomirehitra stayed alone at Sahavana and his descendants form the present Sahavana gens.

The territory of the Antandroka is separated from that of the Sahavana by Mount Tangidy. They inhabit the valley of the Androkavato [lit. "stony river"], one of the tributaries of the Matitanana, and receive their name from it. The first inhabitant of Androka was named Idama. He lived at Karimoto, east of Mount Mandrizavo. Bara raiders, led by Tombongo and Andriamarony, arrived in the region and drove Idama and his family into the forest of Andohatadiravy, where he established himself at Ankarongatsimitombe. There he was joined by Radiovola and Rafotimanga. The latter had a son, Raivaloa. Raivaloa had four sons, Andriampihavana, Trangitena, Tiabe and Ramahajano. The three last named raised many dogs to hunt wild pigs. The dogs killed the calves and damaged the standing crops of the inhabitants. Andriampihavana warned them to fasten up their dogs, but they paid no attention. He became angry and killed all the dogs, poisoning them with *sefa* bark.

Tiabe and Ramahajano were so incensed that they left him and traveled north. They carried with them roots of the *akondro maintsy* ["black bananas"] and *lafiha* and water from the Androkavato River. They settled for a time at Malavavy, near Ancobe [Government of Fort Carnot], where they planted their bananas and *lafiha*. They then moved north again and settled at Ambinany Lakandava on one of the tributaries of the Onila River. There a chief named Tsimiotra gave them a good reception. They planted the rest of their bananas and *lafiha* there and threw the water they had brought into the river. Because of this the upper part of the Onila River is still called Androka.

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Trangiteza, the second brother, turned south and settled in the upper valley of the Manama. There he had two sons, Rajahambao and Andrianampovao. The three allied themselves with Vovombe, chief of the Ante-Manama and defeated the Antesiramena. Trangiteza and his sons then left Andoha-Manama and established themselves at Telana, in the territory of the Anterienana.

Andriampihavana was the only one of the four brothers who stayed in his birthplace. He had a son named Andriamaroefaka. This son was attacked by Andriantsivy and fled to Andranomiangao, at the foot of Mandrizavo. He settled successively at Talamary and Ambanitadirary, dying at the latter place. He had a son Somotra, ironically called Trimo, because of his huge beard. The son of Somotra, called Andrianiha, lived on the rock of Analamaloka. He had a son, Andriarezo, who settled at Antanimena. There Andriarezo had two children, Imoty and a daughter, Ialo. She married a warrior of the Ante-Rienana, named Andrianahy, who lived at Sahakondro. Imoty, the son of Andriarezo, settled at Amboahena, at the foot of Mount Mandrizavo, and Andrianahy, the husband of Ialo, at Andranoira, east of Analamloka.

Three Zafimanara named Andriantaroka, Solay and Sahabe, coming from the country of the Antaimorona tribe, established themselves one after the other at Ambatoharana. Ralambobery, from the Zazanava tribe (Ambatofisaka) arrived and settled at Karinoro. At the same time an Antaimorona *ombiasy* ["medicine-man"] named Ramanontolo came from Androka and settled at Ambatoharana. The six great men just mentioned asked him to make an *ody* ["charm"] to improve their condition. They gave him a robe, silver and six head of cattle. He prepared his charm at Andranomeloka, which in consequence was afterward called Andranomahasoa. The water at Andranomeloka was very low at that time, but the *ombiasy* told the inhabitants: "If my *ody* is successful, this water will become deep and black and you will catch a large *fanany* [a species of snake which the Betsileo believe develops from the bodies of dead royalty]. All that will bring you good luck." After the *ombiasy* had left for the high plateau the water became deep and black and they saw a big *fanany*. Surprised at this the people cried out: "Oh, now our water has become Maintimbahatra" [lit "blackened by the *sahatra*," i.e., "amulets"]. This is the origin of the name of the river, Maintimbahatra. Finally, the six men, Imoty, Andrianahy, Andriantaroka, Solay, Ralambobery and Sahabe lived peacefully at Androka and their descendants form the Antandroka gens.

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The Ante-Varandrano live along the left bank of the Sahonjatsy River, a tributary of the Manambondro. They are made up of four families: 1. Ante-Fenoarivo, 2. Taiempodrano, 3. Sarodry, 4. Vohijaha. 173 618

The Ante-Fenoarivo originated as follows: Three brothers, Raberafy, Rabe and Rasamy, lived on Mount Ambohitra east of Ambohimakamasina [Ambalavao]. Because of a dispute with his brothers Rasamy went east with his family and settled at Mount Ankaramena. One cold night he lit a big fire to warm himself The chief Fiborana, who lived on Mount Tangidy, sent a messenger to nvestigate. He sent this message to Rasamy: "If you want to be nder my rule I will protect you and give you a good piece of land. If you do not, return to your home, for this is not your territory." Unwilling to return to his brothers, Rasamy accepted the offer and settled at Andakatoposa [south of Mamolifoly]. Later the Zafirambo [the royal gens of the region] transferred their hilory ["common tomb"] to a cave at Andakatoposa. Rasamy left the neighborhood and settled finally at Fenoarivo. Hence the name of the family.

The ancestor of the Taiempodrano was named Vorombelo. He lived on Mount Taiempodrano [northwest of Anivorano] for a long time. He married Rasoavano and founded the family Zafindraoavano or Taiempodrano.

The ancestor of the Sarodry was named Tsantsa. He belonged in the region and lived on Mount Sarodry [north of Anivorano]. He married Rano and founded the family. His son was Tahotra, who begot Ringa, who begot Ibiby, who begot Ilefaky, who begot Inahaky, who begot Tsaravita. Tsaravita had two sons, Itamy and Ivoky. Itamy begot Indriamizara, who begot Ipity. Ivoky begot Sambomana, who had three descendants (sons?), Masimana, Taivahora and Imainty.

The ancestor of the Vohijaha, also called Anivorano, was named Ramahafombo. He lived on Mount Vohijana [north of Anivorano]. He married Zafindravary and begot Ravelo, who begot Ramanaletitry, who begot Tsarandro and Talhirena. Tsarandro begot Tsizaray, who begot Tsaramana and Ratsedika. Talhirena begot Manongalana, who begot Vazana, Havanony, Andriamboia, and Rebeja.

[In this and the preceding genealogy only those sons are given who were founders or heads of lineages. Apparently the record has been brought up to the time the manuscript was written, circa 1910.]

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618 The Ante-Maronony gens is formed of four families: 1. Ante-Be, 2. Taimanovo, 3. Maintimboho, 4. Tokanono. It occupies the left bank of the Matitanana River from the ancient village of Itoto to Behazava. Its ancestor, Ralamaka, lived at Managara, but its real origin is uncertain. Like the Sahavana, this gens is descended from the first inhabitants of the Manambondro.

618 173 VOHITROSY TRIBE.—The name of this tribe is formed from *vohitra* ["village," also the name of the commoner caste] and *osy* ["goat"]. Before the Vohitrosy arrived the Ante-Vongo and Vohibato, the first inhabitants of the high valley of the Matitanana River, raised many goats. When these two tribes had been driven out by Rabenontany, ancestor of the Vohitrosy, an *ombiasy* of the Antaimorona tribe, named Masindava, told him that he and his descendants must never raise goats. He said it was the cause of the defeat of the earlier inhabitants. This *fady* ["taboo"] is still observed.

The Vohitrosy tribe originated as follows: Two brothers named Ravij and Rabenontany lived at Itronga, a region between the boundaries of Ihosy and Ambalavao. At that time the country was covered with an immense forest. One day a stroke of lightning fell there and burned a large part of the forest. Everyone was frightened and the brothers decided to leave the region. They went east and settled first at Lomaka [district of Ambalavao]. Later Ravij returned home. Rabenontany stayed at Lomaka and married a Betsileo woman named Raondra. He had two children, Rabezara and Rabelaza. Later he left Lomaka with his family and continued east to Tsirinentao, a wooded mountain to the south of Vinanimasy [Ankarimbelo]. This region was inhabited by several gentes, the Ante-Vongo, the Vohibato and the Ante-Varandrano, who were at war with each other. The chiefs of the last two sent to Rabenontany to demand why he had come. He told them he was traveling east in search of a fertile region. The chiefs, Andriamborindrano of the Vohibato and Rasoky of the Ante-Varandrano, allied themselves with him and said: "If you can vanquish our enemies the Ante-Vongo and drive them out of this region, your descendants shall be kings of it. Rabezara and Rabelaza, helped by their father and their allies, fought with the Ante-Vongo but were unable to drive them out of the territory for good. In order to police the region better, the two brothers separated. Rabezara installed himself at Anorimbato [south of Vinanimasy], fought the Ante-Vongo on the slopes and finally drove them to Sahatsama [district of Ivohibe]. Rabelaza stayed with his father at Andriamangidy [northeast of Vinanimasy].

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A gigantic Antaimorona warrior named Masindava arrived at Andriamangidy. Rabenontany demanded the object of his visit and he said that he sought a region to pacify. Rabenontany invited him to chase the Ante-Vongo. Masindava and Rabelaza fought the Ante-Vongo successively at Ambondro, Ananjavidy and Amboambiry and finished by driving them into the upper valley of the Sahafina, where they took the name of Vasiamainty. Some years later two brothers belonging to the Ante-Vongo, named Rahorova and Renanga, and their sister Soaboka returned to the region. The chief Rabezara took Soaboka to wife and their descendants formed the family Zafiraondra. Raondra, wife of Rabenontany, together with the descendants of Rabelaza, formed the family Ante-Be. In addition to these the region is occupied by two little families, the Zafindraharaha [Ambatombitra] and the Vinaninony [Anorimbato-Ankarimbelo].

VOHIMANA-SAHAFINA TRIBE.—This tribe occupies the valleys of the Manama and Sahafina rivers. It is encountered two hours' march south of the post of Ankarimbelo. As the name indicates, the tribe is composed of two gentes: the Ante-Manama, commonly called Vohimana, and the Sahafina.

The Ante-Manama were the original inhabitants of the region. Their ancestor was named Rakidinto. He lived in a village at the juncture of the Manama and Matitanana rivers. From there he went to Anosimasy, south of Kondromainty on the left bank of the Manama River, which in those days was called Sahanikatry. Appreciating the richness and beauty of the territory Rakidinto cried: "Manama itoy tany itoy" ["How seductive is this land."]. From this they gave the name Manama to the river which flowed near his house. The river gave the name to the gens, Ante-Manama. Rakidinto married Heankea and had a son named Rapipika. The son left Anosimasy and settled at Ifiahia, south of Ambahaka. His son, Radingadinga, had a child, Ravovombe, from whom the Ante-Manama are descended.

The Zafintsira, who are also a part of the Vohimana, are the descendants of Ratsira, who first lived at the foot of Mount Vatovavy, situated in the upper valley of the Mananjary River, north of the district of Ifanadiana. As the result of a civil war, Ratsira left Vatovavy and went south to Vohibasia [northwest of Mitremaka]. Later he settled at Antanjongea [north of Ambatoharana]. There he had six children, Bibilaby, Mamaibay, Ratsimanely, Marodoby, Andriantaila and Tanandroa. Ratsira and his family were attacked by the Vohitroay, who killed all except Tanandroa, his youngest child. Tanandroa fled, swam the Matitanana and settled at Mount Ifampa,

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on the left bank of the river. He had a child named Fiankina. After his father's death, Fiankina left Ifampa and settled at Isobahy [northeast of Kondromainty]. There he died after having two children, Tsimamanga and Vorombe, from whom the Zafintsira are descended.

About fifty years after the arrival of the Ante-Manama and Zafintsira, immigrant Antaimorona, called Zafindrafeno, arrived among the tribe. They fought with the natives and seized rule of the region. A hundred years later the Hova Vohimana [the royal gens of the Vohimana-Sahafina tribe] appeared. Their exact origin is unknown, but according to tradition they are the descendants of Andriamborondrano, who was born at Ambiliony near Isalo [Benenitra in the Bara territory]. He had a son, Andriamatahimana, who was defeated by an Imerina expedition and fled eastward. He settled at Beana, near Vohidroy [Ambalavao]. There he had a son named Andriamijonjo. This son left Beana and established himself at Vohitrarivo, north of Ambahaka. There he had a son named Andriamihana. This son had two children, Andriantsohary and Andrianonifeno. The former left Vohitrarivo and settled at Anosy [home of the Ante-Rienana]. Andrianonifeno lived with his father, but they were attacked by the Zafindrafeno and the father killed. Andrianonifeno sought refuge in the high plateau, being still young. When he was grown he returned to the region and stayed at Ambohimana [in territory of the Vohitrosy tribe]. The Ante-Manama heard of the return of their young king, sent for him, and brought him to Vohitrarivo. He recommenced the war against the Zafindrafeno, finally defeating them and leaving their chief, Ravorombe, dead on the field. After this conquest Andrianonifeno named his gens the Vohimana, in memory of Ambohimana, his residence while in exile.

MAROHALA TRIBE.—This tribe lies about two hours' march southeast from the post at Ankarimbelo. North and east of it are the Matitanana, south the Sahafina and west the Vohitrosy. The region was originally occupied by the Zafindrafeno, Vohimana and Sahafina. These gentes were defeated by the Ante-Manambondro, who completely overran the region. The Vohimana and Sahafina asked help from the Marohala-Sandranantа. These sent an expedition against the Ante-Manambondro. It was directed by Andriamarosambo, Manjakamana and Mahery, with Tsilatsa, Ramasy and Laka as helpers. The Ante-Manambondro were defeated and driven back into their own territory. The victors remained in the region and formed the Marohala tribe.

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ZAZANAVA TRIBE.—The villages of this tribe are nearly all on the left bank of the Manambondro, with the exception of Ampandramana, which is on the right bank. Before the arrival of the Zafirambo on the Sandramanta, the lower Manambondro was uninhabited. The Zafirambo, anxious to increase their territory, sent two members of their gens to occupy it. These were Andriamasilaza and Fonony, of the Saharamy family, with their children Ravalateza and Rasambohery. They settled at Ambinaninony, at the confluence of the Manambondro and Matitanana. Their descendants took the name Zazanava. The Sahavana, from Tangidy, joined Andriamasilaza and their descendants kept the same name. Several years later, various small families, Tsianary, Tambodiria, Zananfiringa and Sahanary, established themselves successively in the region. They joined with the first arrivals and the descendants of the group are the Zazanava.

TANALANDRAVY TRIBE.—This tribe is made up of small villages scattered in the forest. Its territory is bounded on the east and south by the district of Vohipeno, on the north by the Government of Fort Carnot, and on the west by the territory of the Zazanava. The region was first occupied by the Ante-Tsimatra. Later, these were conquered by the Antanony, Vohibolo and Zafindraony, coming from the upper valley of the Mananjary. The Antanony established themselves at Vohodroy, Ramahalaitra, Ramondo and Mahazomana. The Vohibolo established themselves at Rainilaiahitra and Ramondo. The Zafindraony established themselves at Fainilaimandro. The Ante-Tsimatra were driven to the right bank of the Matitanana.

Later the Zafirambo sent one of their number, Tsirianony, into the Tanalandravy territory. He sought the chief Ramahalaitra and his allies and asked permission to settle in the region. "We will allow you to settle among us," Ramahalaitra said, "but we will not recognize you as king." Tsirianony said: "That is understood. All I ask is that all the cattle you offer to your ancestors shall henceforth have their throats cut by me and my descendants." [The right to kill cattle, *Manom-bily*, is often vested in a single gens in other tribes as well. The killers receive certain parts of the animal in payment.] This was agreed to and Tsirianony settled among them. Later he brought his mother, who belonged to the Ante-Maha gens at Vohipeno, to stay with him. The little families, Ante-Saha, Antambahy and Ante-Omby, also established themselves in the region at this time. The descendants of all these form the Tanalandravy.

This account is certainly incomplete as far as the minor divisions of the various main groups are concerned. I found that my

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619 618 Tanala Menabe informants could give lists of the gentes within their own tribe and of lineages within their gens, but knew little about the composition of other units. In the following tabulation, worked out from the manuscript, the tribes have been given at the extreme left, gentes next and more or less independent sub-gentes next. Undoubtedly some of the latter would be considered gentes by informants from within the next larger division. The Zafirambo, or royal caste, considered themselves a gens, but were distributed through the territory of several tribes.

TANALA IKONGO

[101]

TRIBE	GENS	SUB-GENS
Manambondro	Sahavana	
	Antandroka	
	Ante-Varandrano	Ante-Fenoarivo
		Tsiempodrano
		Sarodry
		Vohijaha
	Ante-Maronony	Ante-Be
		Tsimanovo
		Maintimboho
		Tokanono
Vohitrosy	Zafiraondra	
	Ante-Be	
	Zafindraharaha	
	Vinaninony	
Vohimana-Sahafina	Vohimana	Vohimana
		Zafintsira
		Zafindrafeno
		Hova Vohimana
	Sahafina	
Marohala		
Zazanava	Zazanava	
	Sahanava	
	Tsianary	
	Tambodiria	
	Zananfiringa	
	Sahanary	
Tanalandravy	Ante-Tsimatra	
	Antanony	
	Vohibolo	
	Zafindraony	
	Ante-Omby	
	Ante-Saha	
	Antambahy	

DIVISIONS OF THE MENABE

631 619 The Tanala Menabe, the northern half of the forest dwellers, say that they belong to two main divisions, the Teloarivo Atsimo and the Teloarivo Varitra. The terms mean respectively "The Three Thousand of the South" and "The Three Thousand of the North." The

231 [262] for herding or driving cattle and the natives seemed much surprised at the idea. They[1] are not eaten and the idea is considered disgusting, although there is no definite taboo on it. There seemed to be no dogs in many villages and their economic importance is slight.

Cattle are all of the humped or zebu variety, with moderately long sideward curving horns. The size of the hump varies with the animal's age and condition and is hardly noticeable in many cases. There is a great variety of colors and markings, each known by a special name, but black and white seem to predominate. There are said to be a few wild cattle, descendants of escapes, which are very shy and live in the heavy forest.

293 The cattle belonging to each village are herded together by boys, with, in the old days, a few armed men for protection. During the day they are allowed to graze anywhere on land that is lying fallow. At night they are driven into pens, which are now on the outskirts of the villages. In the old days the pens were often in the village and the cattle were driven within the stockade if an attack threatened.

417 The Menabe cattle pens are like large, roughly built houses with thatched roofs and open sides. Among the Ikongo, who live in less rainy territory, the pens are usually open. They are made from posts planted about 2 feet apart and laced together with withes or vines. Two posts, planted one behind the other, stand on each side of the entrance, which is closed by dropping long saplings in between them. Semi-subterranean pens of the plateau type are unknown among the Tanala. The pens are never cleaned and in some I saw the manure had accumulated to a depth of over 3 feet.

422 ● 618 233 The Ikongo have a regular system of ownership marks, made by cutting one or both ears in various patterns. These marks are hereditary in lineages and there are sometimes stories to account for their origin. Families within the lineage usually have no individual marks. The Menabe rarely earmark their cattle, their herds being so small that ownership is never in question.

232 There is no attempt at systematic cattle breeding and it does not seem to have occurred to the natives that their herds could be improved in this way. One informant expressed surprise when I told him of our methods, then said that after all the matter took care of itself, for the best bull would defeat the others and take all the cows.

825 Young bulls are often castrated, but solely with the idea of improving the flesh. A Menabe informant said that two bulls in a herd must always be castrated at the same time, so that they could

[1] [i.e., dogs - Analyst]

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were used by all the lineages indiscriminately. The tombs were hidden in dense forest, never less than a half hour's march from the village and usually more (see Tombs).

Villages were moved only if they had been taken and sacked by an enemy, or if an *ombiasy* advised removal. In either case the new site was chosen by an *ombiasy*. The villagers carried along their *tepanony* and buried it in the *kianza* of the new village. The sacred place was abandoned, the sacrifices being performed at temporary altars until deaths had occurred at the new site and memorial stones had been erected. Corpses were carried back to the old tombs for a time, then new tombs were built and all the bodies transferred.

New villages, as distinct from removals, were founded as a result of quarrels between factions within a village. One or more lineages would secede in a body and settle at a new site. The place would be chosen by an *ombiasy*, who would also concoct a new *tepanony* for them. The new village would continue to use the sacred place and tombs of the old village for a time, but would establish its own as soon as possible.

THE GENS

The gens was the largest social or governmental unit recognized by the primitive Tanala. All larger groupings are directly traceable to outside influences. There was no native name for this unit, but each gens was named and considered itself a separate entity. The members of a gens always occupied a continuous territory, the limits of their land being marked by various natural boundaries such as rivers, ridges, etc. Trespass on this territory by members of another gens was cause for war. If, as sometimes happened, one or more lineages migrated to a distance, the emigrants soon lost touch with the parent body and founded a new gens.

In theory, membership in a gens was based on descent from a common ancestor in the male line and each gens had arisen through the gradual expansion of a single lineage. Traditionally, these lineages entered the country separately and at different times, some coming from the coast, others from the plateau. Each lineage founded a village, new lineages and villages arising through increasing population and internal disputes. Actually, the Menabe also recognized descent in the female line as giving gens membership, if it was coupled with residence with the mother's group. Although informants always gave male descent as the basis, all admitted that their own gentes included illegitimate children of gens women and outside fathers,

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descendants of inter-gens marriages which had been matrilocal (see The Family), descendants of slave men and free women, etc. Such persons were attached to their mother's lineage. In the case of matrilocal marriages they would keep their father's taboos in the first generation, but if they married into their mother's gens, as was usually the case, their descendants would be considered full gens members. Individuals connected with the gens through female descent were entitled to use of its land and suffered from no disabilities except that they were debarred from a few offices which were strictly hereditary in the male line. The Ikongo paid more attention to male descent than the Menabe and in historic times their gens membership is said to have been strictly based upon it. 618

I believe that residence was originally almost as important as descent in establishing gens membership. Certain gentes mentioned in traditions have completely disappeared and it was explained that, having lost their lands through conquest, they had broken up. Their lineages had settled in the villages of other gentes, by permission, and had finally been absorbed.

Each gens was composed of from one to fifty villages all of which recognized the domination of a single chief. Among the Menabe there was rarely more than one gens represented in a village. Among the Ikongo, lineages belonging to the royal gens often lived in the villages of the other gentes, but this was probably a late development, linked with the rise of royal power in that group. 618 631

SOCIAL CLASSES

Until about one hundred and twenty-five years ago the Menabe recognized only two classes in society: the *hova*, who were free persons belonging to a gens, and the *ndevo*, who were prisoners of war or their descendants. There were no hereditary distinctions among the *hova* although differences in wealth and ability were, of course, recognized. Most of the *ndevo* were slaves. Some distinction was made between slaves who were Tanala by birth and those captured from other tribes. The former would often be ransomed by their relatives and their bondage was, in general, lighter. Marriages between such slaves and free people were quite common, especially if the slave was a member of a good family in his own gens. At death, the body of a Tanala slave would be returned to his own gens for burial in his village tomb, unless his village lay at too great a distance. Slaves, both Tanala and foreign, were further divided into chattel slaves and family slaves. The former were usually prisoners of war, the latter 567 [554]

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the two lower classes among the Menabe is equally applicable to the Ikongo. There were, however, two gentes of *hova* rank. One of these, the Zafirambo, claimed Arab descent, the other, called simply *hova*, apparently was an offshoot of the Bara tribe. The Zafirambo established their claim to *hova* rank as follows (MSS. of Sadaro Antoine): "After Andriamarofela [head of the original lineage] had settled at Maromanditra, on the left bank of the Manambondro River, his descendants multiplied rapidly and soon occupied almost the whole Sandrananta valley. They were excellent warriors, respected by the neighboring gentes. They always occupied Sandrananta, but at a later time, when the neighboring gentes were constantly at war with each other, some of them asked the 'hova Zafirambo' of Sandrananta to govern them and put an end to strife. The children of Rabelaza and Rabezara [heads of the Vohitrosy gens] constantly fought among themselves, wanting to be king. One of the sons of Rabelaza, called Tsizaky, went to Sandrananta to ask for a king. He was given Ramanavivitry, who installed himself first at Ambalavolo and later at Vohibalotra. Part of the Vohitrosy gens was hostile to him and he conquered it, bringing the whole gens under his rule. The establishment of Zafirambo kings put an end to war, for no chief of the Vahoaka [original inhabitants] would dare to attack a gens governed by a Zafirambo. If he did, all the Zafirambo of Sandrananta would be against him. The Zafirambo kings married Vahoaka women and the two groups soon became a single family. It is for this reason that we now have Zafirambo and Vahoaka living in the same villages."

Under the Tanala system social class and gentile affiliation were inseparable. When a gens succeeded in dominating other gentes and making them recognize the control of its chief, or of chiefs of its blood, all members of the gens assumed noble rank. The bulk of the "nobles" would continue to live in their own territory and while their new status brought social prestige its economic value was almost nil. Their main duty in the state was to act as a police force, keeping peace among the subject gentes and protecting them from outside aggression. Among the Tanala the whole institution of nobility was relatively new and I could learn of no case in which a noble gens had lost its domination. Among neighboring tribes, who had essentially the same system, a noble gens which had been conquered was not degraded to the common level. Such gentes formed a class intermediate between nobles and commoners and retained a certain social prestige. They were distinguished by a class name and might have

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565 special rights, as that of killing cattle for the commoners, but they
618 were rigidly excluded from any part in the government.

REGULATION OF MARRIAGE

582 Courtship, the ceremony of marriage, ceremonies used for lifting the ban on certain degrees of relationship, etc., have been described in the section, Life Cycle of the Individual. Only the social control of marriage will be treated here. The only bar to marriage among the Tanala is relationship in certain degrees, but there are opinions as to the desirability of certain types of union which, although not formulated as prohibitions, do much to influence individual choice. Marriages between the members of different generations, or between persons with a marked disparity in age, are usually looked upon with disfavor and are infrequent. Marriages within the lineage are considered undesirable and are very rare. The Menabe were formerly strongly in favor of marriage within the village, but there has been a change in their attitude within the last fifty years. They now favor marriage outside the village, saying that such marriages give the young people a greater range of choice and are more permanent. The Ikongo have always favored marriage outside the village, perhaps [618] because of their greater fear of incest. Marriages within the gens are considered highly desirable by both groups and were normal in ancient times. Since the French domination has put an end to wars, intergens marriages have increased considerably.

572 Relationships controlling marriage are based on actual blood
582 relationship, on relationship through marriage, and on relationship established by the *mifanangena* ("blood brotherhood") ceremony. In [595] polygynous families the children stand in the same relation to the relatives of their father's plural wives as to those of their own mother. If a widow with children remarries, the children stand in the same relation to the new husband's family as to that of their actual father. Relationship based on marriage is as binding as blood relationship in regulating marriages. The children of persons who have performed the *mifanangena* stand in the same relation to each other as the children of actual brothers, sisters, or brother and sister, but, as a control on marriage, this relationship is usually allowed to lapse in the second or third generation.

582 The Ikongo forbid marriage between parent and child, brother and sister, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew, and between the children of two brothers, two sisters or brother and sister. These prohibitions are more extensive than is usually the case in Madagascar and

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VII. GOVERNMENT

In describing Tanala government it is necessary to treat the Menabe and Ikongo divisions separately. Until about one hundred years ago the Menabe had no political or governmental unit larger than the gens. Later, with the aid of the Imerina empire, the Zafiakotry gens succeeded in bringing several of the other gentes under its domination and a kingdom was established. This kingdom tried to copy the organization of the Imerina kingdom, but it never became well integrated or thoroughly organized. The Ikongo, on the other hand, had kingdoms of long standing and had developed a stable system of government with officials of varying rank.

The Menabe

Among the Menabe each village was practically autonomous. The authority of the chief of the gens was recognized, but he never interfered in village affairs and was only appealed to in disputes between villages or in serious criminal cases. Each village had a chief, the *Andriambavety*, who was elected informally and could be deposed at will. There were no ceremonies of investiture and he had no special insignia. He was considered simply the first among equals. To be eligible for the office a man had to be personally popular, rich, generous, a good diplomat, a good warrior and a good orator. The *Andriambavety* had no authority over the persons or property of the other villagers. His duties were to advise and help them, to act as arbitrator in minor disputes, if brought to him voluntarily, to organize and coordinate communal activities, seeing that labor and expense were equitably divided, and to act as representative for his village in its dealings with other villages or with the chief of the gens. The office carried no salary or perquisites, beyond personal exemption from labor. Under French control the office of *Andriambavety* has been retained and its powers and its responsibilities considerably increased. He must provide the quotas of men demanded by the government for forced labor and cannot be deposed by the village without government consent. Bribes to the *Andriambavety* are now common.

The affairs of the village were controlled by a group of important men, comparable to the "key men" of American communities. The position was unofficial and the natives seem to have had no generic term for such leaders. They are now referred to by the French word

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623 *Notables.* The *Notables* were heads of lineages or large families, rich men, famous warriors, etc. They were usually middle aged or old, but age in itself brought little prestige and no authority.

665 Practically every village was divided into two or more political factions, which would oppose each other on principle. There was a great deal of petty politics and scheming for control. The *Andriambavety* was always allied with some faction and would favor it when possible. Membership in factions seems to have always followed lineage lines and when the disputes became too acute the lineages making up the defeated faction might secede in a body and found a new village.

692 Matters of general policy, internal disputes and minor criminal
623 cases were settled by the *Fokonolona* ("council"). Some informants said that membership in the *Fokonolona* was limited to *Notables*, others that it included the entire adult male population. The distinction is not an important one, for the meetings were always public and all villagers, including women, had the right to speak.

623 The proceedings of the *Fokonolona* were quite informal. The *Andriambavety* presided, but there were no rules of order, no minutes of previous meetings, and no proceedings for opening or closing the session. The meetings were called *kabary*, which is an exact equivalent of the term "palaver" as used on the west coast of Africa. It is a generic term for meetings, discussions, speeches, etc. The Malagasy love to talk and even small matters were made an excuse for hours of *kabary*, with a great flow of oratory. There was no voting nor, as far as I could learn, any other formal method of coming to a decision. The matter was threshed out until it was felt that the whole group was in agreement. The *Andriambavety* might formally announce the decision, but even this was often thought unnecessary. In case of a deadlock, the meeting was adjourned and the *Notables* went into private caucus, reconvening when they had reached a compromise. In all matters the majority ruled, but it had to be a large majority.

618 The gens as a whole had a chief, called the *Anakandriana*, who was chosen by an assembly of the *Andriambavety* and *Notables* from all the villages. Theoretically, he was chosen on the same personal basis as the *Andriambavety* and might be picked from any village or lineage. Actually, favor was shown to the lineages which were in most direct line of descent from the gens ancestor, i.e., traced from him through eldest sons, and which lived in the original village of the gens. There also seems to have been a tendency for the office

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to become hereditary, the ablest of a deceased chief's sons being chosen to succeed him. The *Anakandriana* usually held office for life, but could be deposed for misconduct. 618

The *Anakandriana* was in no sense a king and his establishment differed little from that of other well to do natives. He seems to have had no special insignia of office and I could learn of no taboos governing his conduct or that of the other members of the gens in dealing with him. No taxes were paid to him. In some gentes he received a part of fines levied on criminals, but this was not universal. His duties were to act as arbitrator in disputes between villages and as a court of last appeal in serious criminal cases, especially those involving sentence of death. 618 693

After the Zafiakotry conquered the neighboring gentes their *Anakandriana* was recognized as a king, *Mpanzaka*. At first he seems to have been chosen by the gens alone, like any other *Anakandriana*. Later he was chosen by the *Anakandriana* of all the gentes, the only prerequisite for office being that he must belong to the Zafiakotry gens. Still later the royal power was strengthened and it became possible for the king to nominate his successor. The king Rainilevola had children by eight of his wives and before his death indicated the succession for twelve places. Lemangivy, a son, was designated to succeed him, then Iovana, a daughter, then Raindriamanava, a son, and after him nine other sons. The mother of Raindriamanava was of *ndevo* caste, but his right to the succession was never questioned. During the reign of Queen Iovana he was the most influential man in the kingdom. He never became king because the French abolished the office. 643

I was unable to get any coherent account of the exact powers and functions of the Menabe kings, or of their regalia, or of the ceremonies performed when they were inducted into office. No two informants were in agreement on these points and apparently they had never become formalized. The kingdom was short lived and constantly subject to Imerina influences.

THE IKONGO

The political organization of the Ikongo cannot be understood without some knowledge of their history. In the earliest period their territory was occupied by many politically independent gentes which were probably similar to those of the Menabe in their organization and government. Later at least two gentes of foreign origin forced their way into the region, partly displacing the aborigines. At first 174 563

174 563 the invaders lived in compact gentile groups, but in time certain families or lineages left the gens territory and settled among the aborigines, seizing control. These small ruling groups kept touch with their parent gens for a time and relied on it for support, but they intermarried with their subjects and fused with them racially and culturally. Their descendants in the male line came to constitute a noble caste with representatives in all the groups. Although these nobles claimed a common origin and were jealous of their social privileges they no longer considered themselves as a political unit. Although they would assist each other if the commoners rose against them, they frequently fought among themselves, leading their followers of aboriginal stock against each other. Even in such wars they still recognized the blood bond to the extent that it was taboo for a commoner to kill the enemy king, although a noble would do so without hesitation (see Warfare).

621 [622] Apparently there were many Ikongo villages which did not include lineages of *hova* ("noble") caste. Even when they were present their influence was not preponderant in local affairs. The village government was essentially the same as the Menabe. There was an elected chief, usually not a noble, who acted as executive, and a *Fokonolona* ("council"). Each gens had a chief called the *Mpanzaka* who was elected from the members of the *hova* caste. Prerequisites for the office were the same as for the Menabe *Anakandriana*. The *Mpanzaka* was chosen by the village chiefs and *Notables* of the entire gens, irrespective of caste, and could be deposed at will. Associated with him were one or more officials called *Anakandriana*, who were elected on the same basis and in the same way as the *Mpanzaka*, but must be of *vahoaka* ("common") caste. Theoretically the *Anakandriana* acted as counselors and executives, but actually they often seem to have had as much power as the *Mpanzaka*, who was unable to remove them from office. The whole arrangement strongly suggested a dual chieftainship.

618 565

631 [643] 618 646 Kingdoms arose, as among the Menabe, through one gens acquiring domination over others. The king, also called *Mpanzaka*, was chosen from among the *hova* of the dominant group. Like the gens chiefs, he was assisted by elected *Anakandriana* whom he could not dismiss. These *Anakandriana* might be chosen from any gens within the kingdom, but were always of *vahoaka* caste. Usually all gentes were represented among them and they formed a sort of permanent council with a sharp check on the conduct of the *Mpanzaka*. They exercised executive functions and continued in office

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Anakandriana. I was told that a deposed king would usually be killed to prevent later complications. 643

ROYAL POWERS AND FUNCTIONS

The king was supposed to stand in the same relation to his subjects as the father of a family to its members. In theory he had absolute power over their persons and property, but it was a power which he never dared to exercise arbitrarily. The Tanala kings never developed the elaborate palace organization which, in some other tribes, interposed a barrier between ruler and subject and made oppression safe and easy. A king who sold a subject into slavery or seized the property of even the poorest commoner would arouse a storm of protest. The whole community would feel that its rights were in danger and the offender was liable to be deposed or murdered. Bad kings occasionally mulcted rich subjects on trumped-up charges, but even in this they had to move with caution. In general the rule was benevolent and the duties attached to the royal office balanced its advantages. 643 661

A king was expected to aid and counsel his subjects, maintain order throughout the realm, lead his people in war, and above all administer justice. Stinginess was a severe reproach and in bad seasons the king was expected to help his subjects to the limits of his property. Any subject could apply to him for advice and he was also expected to hold *kabary* ("palavers") from time to time and counsel his people in formal fashion. One *kabary* was always held in the spring, before planting began, at which the king addressed his subjects and encouraged them to plant plenty of crops and cultivate them well. At another *kabary* he advised the gathering of forest products. He was also expected to protect and stimulate trade, especially with Europeans. 643

The maintenance of order was in the hands of the *Anakandriana* of the various gentes. Each gens was expected to keep down lawlessness and banditry within its territory and to surrender to the king any of its members who had been guilty of offenses against members of other gentes or the subjects of another king. Each *Anakandriana* was personally responsible to the king for the behavior of his followers and might, in extreme cases, be fined, although apparently he could not be deposed without the consent of his own people. 627 [618] [692]

The activities of the king as war leader have been described in the section on Warfare.

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764 rarely use the same tomb for more than three or four generations. The tombs are always built in prominent places, beside roads, etc. The Imerina sometimes sacrifice at them but the Betsileo do not. Neither group has special persons appointed as tomb guardians.

764 The tribes of the southeast coast, who border the Tanala on the east, employ gens tombs founded, at least in theory, by the original 618 gens ancestor. No new tombs are founded by individuals and as the 778 gens grows and expands its territory the single tomb comes to be used by a number of villages. The gens tomb is always in a secluded place, surrounded by a grove of trees, and, if possible, near the sacred river. Only the tomb guardian or persons he designates can approach it at ordinary times. It is, however, the center of the religious life of the gens. Important sacrifices are made there and trials for sorcery are held at it. There is an hereditary official known as the *Lahy Kibory* ("chief" or "guardian of the *kibory*") who is the religious head of the gens with powers approaching those of the secular chief. He not only has charge of the *kibory* and everything pertaining to it, but offers the sacrifices to the ancestors and punishes infractions of tribal custom, such as incest.

764 The Tanala practices vary between these two extremes without fully arriving at either. In a very general way it may be said that the southern clans lean toward the southeast coast practice while the northern ones lean toward that of the plateau. Among the Tanala Ikongo the *kibory* almost conforms to the southeastern pattern. Sadaro Antoine says: "The *kibory* is situated far from villages so that the ghosts will not disturb the tranquillity of the living. It is in a cave. The bodies are laid one upon another with the exception 766 of the *Mpanzaka* [king] who is placed in a coffin on an elevated place to the east. Persons who die of contagious diseases [lepers and smallpox victims] or children who die under a month old are not admitted to the *kibory*. The latter are buried in marshy ground. Sorcerers are also excluded unless a number of cattle have been killed 764 to rectify the fault. The chief of the *kibory* is a simple chief of the family but he receives a certain respect from the natives. He makes regulations that no one may burn the forest near where the *kibory* is located, or enter the forest or cut a single tree in it. Anyone who breaks these rules has to pay a fine of a large ox. When the tomb has to be repaired or when the ancestors wish a new tomb, it is the chief of the *kibory* who calls the family together to do this. For this work he has to kill many cattle and furnish a quantity of rice for the workers. A sacrifice of twenty or thirty cattle is an average for a

1: Linton E-5 (1926-27) 1933 FYS Tanala FYS

rich family. It is the chief of the *kibory* who offers the sacrifices and addresses the prayers to the ancestors." 764

Very little additional information was obtained but this seems to indicate that all the members of a gens do not necessarily use the same *kibory* and I suspect that every village of long standing has one of its own. The office of guardian of the *kibory* also seems to be much less important than among the southeast coast tribes. Early writers say that the Ikongo simply buried their dead in the forest and it seems possible that their use of the *kibory* has been borrowed from the eastern tribes in comparatively recent times. [621]

Informants from the Tanala Menabe say that some of their northern gentes have true gens tombs which are used by as many as ten or twelve villages. These consist of houses containing stone lined pits with three compartments. The bodies of men are placed in one compartment, those of women in another and those of children in the third. The type would seem to be almost identical with that used by the southeast coast tribes, but informants thought that there was no special guardian of the tomb. They were not sure of this and spoke from hearsay rather than personal knowledge. 764 618

Among the rest of the Menabe each village has two or three tombs which are in simultaneous use. As a rule the corpses are put in the different tombs in rotation, but the village chief or council may also designate the tomb to be used. New tombs may be built either by the village as a whole, when the old ones are in danger of becoming overcrowded, or by individuals. The builder of a tomb acquires prestige and can specify certain things in regard to it, as that it shall be used only for men or that the men's and women's bodies shall be kept separate in it, but its use never seems to be limited to his direct descendants. 764 [621] [559]

The tombs themselves are of three types: natural caves, rock shelters and houses. Caves are used when possible and if a good one is discovered within a reasonable distance of the village the dead are often moved into it. In the case of rock shelters a large box of heavy planks with a plank cover is built under the overhang where it will be protected from the weather. Some of these boxes are said to be very large, with room for a hundred or more bodies. If neither caves nor rock shelters are available, the *kibory* consists of a large rectangular pit lined with dry stone masonry and covered with stone slabs or planks. The earth is heaped above in a mound and a house built over the whole. The *kibory* are always hidden in dense brush at least a half hour's march from the village.

L. Lemon E-S (1926-27) 1930 FTP Tanala FTP

The bodies are laid in the tomb with the heads east, without coffins. Men and women are piled together indiscriminately unless the builder of the tomb has specified otherwise. Even chiefs are interred with the rest, although a few of the kings demanded individual tombs in imitation of the Imerina practice. Lepers and smallpox victims are excluded, but in some cases their bones seem to be put in after a few years of temporary interment in the ground. Sorcerers and other criminals are also excluded, their bodies being left for the dogs to eat. It is a universal rule that only members of the gens can be buried in the *lolory*.

The tomb is transferred if the village is transferred or if a better site has been found. When the new tomb is ready, the day before the transfer, the two or three most important men of the village come to the tomb and call: "Hallo, so-and-so and so-and-so," giving the names of all the important dead they know, "you are the great ones of the family here. Your tomb and residence here are bad. You know this and we know it too. We are going to transfer you tomorrow to such and such a place. Assemble all the family here, assemble the children and all your baggage, for tomorrow we will go there."

Next morning all the *Fokonolona* ("village council") come to the tomb and kill an ox to the east of it, i.e., by the heads of the dead. They spread out mats with raffia *lambas* ("mantles") on top. They then take out all the bodies and lay them on the *lambas* and sew them up into bundles. The bodies of wives and husbands are sewn up together, when known, all the children are put in one bundle and the oldest dead, who have fallen to pieces, in another. The bundles are then wrapped in mats and tied to carrying poles with vines. It is forbidden to use ropes. A little of the sacrificed ox is grilled and eaten at the old tomb, but most of it is carried along for the feast at the new tomb. If it is a long trip a stop may be made and a meal cooked en route. On the way the people sing and play tricks on each other and sometimes wrestle. One trick is for the man on the rear end of the carrying pole to push suddenly and try to throw the front man down.

When they reach the new tomb all the bodies are put down outside. A special house has been built there and the people spend the night in this, singing and dancing. They feast that night and again the next morning, killing sometimes as many as ten oxen, depending on the wealth of the village. After breakfast they put the bodies in the new tomb. The body of the most important ancestor, except for his skull, is put at the bottom of the pit or box

L. Lamont E-8 (1926-27) 1933 FYS Tanala FYS

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According to native belief each gens has arisen through the expansion of a single family (see Social Organization) which increased to a lineage, then to a village, and finally to a series of villages. At first the head of the family sacrificed to the ancestors, then, as the related group grew larger, the office became more formal and was vested in the head of the family which was in most direct line of descent from the gens ancestor, reckoning through eldest children. Finally through various causes such as settlement of part of the group at a distance, failure of the direct line, etc., the strict succession was broken down.

793 B32 G18

Among the Menabe at the present time every village of long standing has its priest. When a new village is founded, the priest of the parent village is expected to come to it on request and make sacrifices there. Finally, when the new village has existed for two or three generations and lost its feeling of unity with the old village, or when the priest becomes weary of making the necessary journeys, the head of the ranking family in the new village asks permission from the original priest to assume the priestly office. This then becomes hereditary in his family. There seems to be no formal investiture for a new priest, but the office cannot be assumed without the original priest's permission. In the Zafindriantrova gens the priest of the parent village is called the *Tova Pitsokasomanga*, those of the offshoot villages simply *Pitsokasomanga*. The *Tova Pitsokasomanga* officiates at sacrifices in his own village and at those performed in behalf of the group of villages as a whole. The *Pitsokasomanga* are considered his deputies and ask his permission when they are to perform the more important sacrifices. Most of the Menabe gentes seem to have a similar, but rather less formal organization. In general, the priest of the parent village has no real control over the priests of the younger villages and there is no central religious authority, even within the gens.

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Although the priestly office remains in the family of the original priest of a village, the exact method of inheritance varies somewhat with the gens. Among the Zafindiamanona the priests are always men. The office passes, at the death of a priest, to his younger brother and thus through the whole line of brothers. At the death of the last it reverts to the eldest son of the original priest, his brothers' children being debarred even if their fathers have held the office. If the eldest child of the original priest is a girl, the office, after it has been held by her brothers in succession, reverts to her children.

or for his immediate family. The Imerina may have been an exception to this rule, but accounts of the early conditions there are vague and conflicting. Elsewhere, priests cannot delegate their functions to *ombiasy* even temporarily. Among the western tribes, where the distinction between the two offices is most rigid, *ombiasy* may not even direct sacrifices. 791 796 769

SACRIFICES ON BEHALF OF THE GENS.—Among the Menabe, sacrifices on behalf of the entire gens were made only in time of national calamity, such as pestilence, very serious crop failure, or an attack which threatened to drive the gens from its territory or subjugate it. They were performed on the tops of sacred mountains, the idea being that the worshippers were thus lifted closer to heaven and their prayers made more easily audible to the gods and ancestors. Each gens had one or more of these mountains within its territory. The Zafiakotry had three, which were the sites of three of their ancient villages, later abandoned. I could not learn whether the sacred mountains of other gentes had ever been inhabited. At present it is not taboo to visit the mountains or even to cultivate their lower slopes, but the summits are shunned as the abode of spirits. These high places are not marked by memorial stones or other permanent altars. A temporary wooden altar (see Sacrifices on Behalf of Individuals) was erected for the ceremony. 618 782 778

When there was more than one sacred mountain, the leading *ombiasy* of the gens, or some foreign *ombiasy* of great power, indicated which one should be used. He also selected the priest who was to officiate from among all those in the gens and indicated the ritual to be used, especially whether the sacrifice was to be boiled or grilled. The ritual was the same as for individual sacrifices. Apparently no sacrifices on behalf of a gens have been performed in recent times. [791]

Sacrifices on behalf of a village or group of villages were performed before setting out on a war party. These have been described in the section on Warfare. They may have been performed on a few other occasions as well, but informants were uncertain. Since the establishment of French control they also have become obsolete. [724]

SACRIFICES ON BEHALF OF INDIVIDUALS.—Sacrifices of this type are the commonest of all Tanala ceremonies. Although they are always made on behalf of some individual, the larger and more important ones are participated in by the entire village and are felt to be a reassertion of the close relation existing between the living and the souls of their ancestors. They may be performed during 782

1: Linton E-6 (1926-27) 1933 FYS Tanala FYS

784 eaten. There is no explanation of this, except that the idea is considered disgusting.

618 797 Nearly every gens has its special *fady*, although there are a few which lack them. Those of the Zafiakotry gens are as follows: (1) To kill or eat wild or domestic pigs, to allow them to be cooked in their pots, or even to have pig meat brought into the village. There are two explanations of this *fady*: (a) The pig eats excrement and other filth and is therefore unclean. (b) The village in which the founder of the gens lived was attacked and taken by the enemy. He fled and took refuge in a thicket. The enemy, following to kill him, were charged by a wild boar which was lying asleep in the same thicket. They concluded that he could not be hidden there or the pig would have run away, so passed on. In gratitude, the ancestor enjoined his descendants never to injure pigs. (2) To injure the bird called *voilongy*, a dark-colored bird about as large as an American grackle, having a crest of one or two feathers which project forward. The Zafiakotry not only do not trap or kill these birds, but will buy and release any that they see in cages. The *voilongy* is considered the king of the birds, for it takes feathers of all the other species to build its nest. This *fady* dates from the time that the Zafiakotry became the royal gens of the Tanala Menabe and it is believed that its infraction will endanger their political power. It was imposed by an *ombiasy* at the time he gave the first Tanala king a charm in which parts of the *voilongy* were included.

The Zanakanony, an aboriginal group who now live among the Zafiakotry, have adopted these *fady*. Originally the group had none.

The Zafinarovaka have the following *fady*: (1) To kill or eat the *tsingotry*, a small black bird with two white feathers in its tail. This is explained by the story that when enemies were searching for the founder of this gens they stopped to watch a *tsingotry*. While they were doing this their friends shouted to them that dinner was ready and, being tired and hungry, they abandoned the chase. In gratitude the fugitive made the bird *fady* to his descendants. (2) To shout to persons to call them to a meal. This is also explained by the foregoing legend. (3) To eat the *sokova*, a small insectivore which rolls itself into a ball when attacked. This is because a pregnant woman of the gens once ate one and her child was born bent like a bow. (4) To eat the *ajoki*, a bird with a long curved bill. A pregnant woman ate one and her child had a long hooked nose. The last two *fady* are observed by both men and women, but apply only to eating the flesh. Members

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of the gens will kill these animals and trade them to other groups to whom they are not *fady*. 784 618

The Maroiahy have a *fady* against eating wild pig, but can kill it or keep the meat in their houses. This is because they were once very fond of the meat, and, after a hunt, gorged themselves with it so that many became ill and the chief of their village died.

The Tevato have the following *fady*: (1) To eat wild or domestic pig, because these animals are filth eaters. (2) To eat eels, either the large spotted *tona* or the ordinary *gai*. (3) To eat meat killed by other gentes. (4) To eat or cook with utensils used by persons of other gentes. They say that all these *fady* are inherited from their ancestors who had them when they came to Madagascar from "Maka," i.e., Arabia. They are known to have entered the Tanala territory from the southeast coast and probably do have some Arab blood. In this gens a man who is accused of any offense will say: "I will eat a *tona* if I did it." This is a binding oath, and, if the accuser still doubts his word, he has the right to attack him seriously, with a knife or axe. [167]

The Zafindraniava do not eat wild or domestic pig, saying they are filth eaters.

The Andriavahoakarivo do not kill or eat parrots, the *fady* being explained by the following story: The founder of the gens was attacked by robbers, beaten unconscious, and buried in a shallow grave. He recovered consciousness, but thought he was dead and made no move to escape until he heard the clamor of parrots in a neighboring tree. Then he concluded he was alive and dug his way out. In gratitude he made the parrot *fady* to his descendants.

The Zafindramasana do not kill or eat goats, saying that once a goat which had been improperly butchered lived for a long time, disturbing the village with its cries and disgusting the people so that they were unable to digest the meat.

The Zafimaniry have the same *fady* in all their divisions. These are: (1) To kill or eat lemurs. This is because they have hands and finger nails like human beings, and are the descendants of men who long ago became lost in the forest. (2) To eat the *aova*, a small spiny insectivore. This is because in eating one of them a man once got a spine stuck in his throat. It became infected and the man died. A second reason is that the *aova* lives with rats, which are unclean, and sometimes rats turn into *aova*. (3) To kill or eat the *saka*, a very small bird. This is because when the ancestor of the gens was hiding in a thicket from enemies a flock of *saka* came and settled on the

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418 branches. The enemy saw them, thought no man could be there,
724 and went on.

The Zafindrasoavory and the Zafisomotra have no *fady*. The latter are a newly arrived group who have come from the Betsileo country within six generations. They live among the Zafiakotry and imitate their *fady* to some extent.

In marriages between gentes, men always keep the *fady* of their gens and these descend to their children even if the family is matrilocal. At the same time, children of a matrilocal marriage will usually observe the *fady* of both their father's and mother's gentes, as a matter of courtesy. Women retain the *fady* of their own gens until after the birth of the first child, when they adopt those of their husbands. Very often they will practice both. If a woman belongs to a gens which has no *fady*, she will adopt her husband's *fady* at once.

The gens *fady* just described is the only thing in Tanala culture which might suggest totemism and it would require a considerable stretching of even that much abused term to include such phenomena within its scope. There is nowhere any idea of descent from, or even collateral relationship with, the *fady* animal and in many instances the members of the gens are quite willing to kill it. Even those who will not kill it themselves will often encourage Europeans to do so. I was more than once asked to hunt wild pig which were damaging plantations belonging to gentes to which they were *fady*. There are no ceremonies to increase the *fady* animals, no representations of these animals are used in art, and their names are never used to designate gentes.

724 In addition to the *fady* observed by gentes, each village has its
621 own particular *fady*, given by an ombiasy at the time the village was founded. I suspect that such *fady* are a part of the *tapeony* or village charm, which was also given to the village at this time, but the natives were not clear on this point. In some villages it was *fady* to allow strangers to enter on certain days of the week. If the visitors were important they would be lodged in a house outside the stockade and their wants attended to there. Pork could not be brought into Antvihimanga or Apudrambato, or castor oil beans or oil into Avohitarivo. In certain villages it was *fady* to bring a rice mortar in unless the mouth was covered with a *lamba*. This was because the mortar had a big opening and to bring it in uncovered would leave a big opening in the magical defenses of the village, through which all sorts of evil could enter.